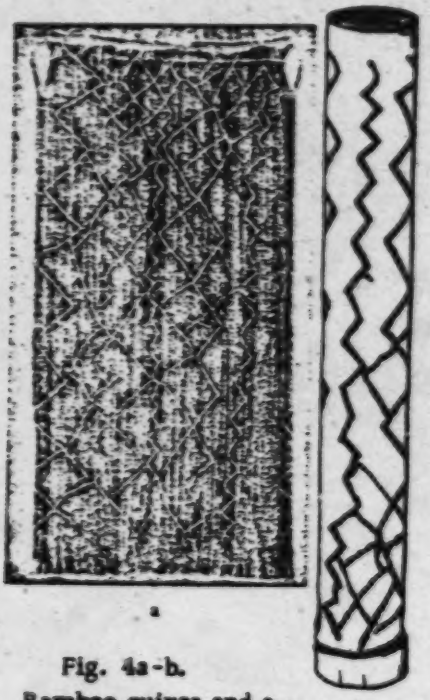
Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

000 411 194 173 411 726 with only the branch-bow. Accordingly, the present-day child's toy would represent a "survival" /quoted in English/. The Waikâ, Zerries reports, had a tradition according to which they completely lacked even bows and arrows in olden times. Wars at that time were waged only with clubs. He also found a few specimens and describes them

411 415 531



a b

Fig. 4a-b.
Bamboo quiver and a rubbing of the incised design.

173 411 726 as long, flat sword-clubs, called "hímo," which are made from the wood of the pupunha palm (109). Moreover, he mentions long

411 171 578 wooden poles with which, to this day, local conflicts are settled, which reminds him of the duels of the Botokuden /Botocudo/ (110) (111).

109. Zerries, 1956a, p. 185.

110. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

111. Zerries, 1954b, p. 75.

Surára
Pakidái

/24 cont./

411 824 Among the Indians investigated by me, I observed neither poles nor clubs (112), but I did see an intermediate form, namely, sticks

112. Among the Xiriâna, too, Koch-Grünberg did not discover any native clubs (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 313).

made of pupunha wood 1.30-1.40 meters long, which are somewhat thicker at one end and the name of which is likewise -- hímo. With these the men, for certain reasons, engage in stick-duels (113) which resemble those of the Guayakí (114);

411 578 191

113. Becher, 1959, pp. 162 ff.

114. Baldus, 1939, p. 113.

they differ greatly, however, from the stick combats of the Botokuden (115). Nevertheless, there are distinct parallels be-

411 184

115. Prince zu Wied-Neuwied, 1820, pp. 368-370.

tween the poles or clubs of the Waiká and the sticks of the Surára and Pakidái, first of all, on account of the similar use to which they are put and, secondly, because of the similar name. It is therefore to be assumed that pole and stick represent very primitive weapons, from which, presumably as a result of external influences, the club was developed. [174]

411 Quivers:

The bamboo quivers -- tôra -- 32 to 40 centimeters long, with a diameter of four to five centimeters, are an important accessory for the hunting and war weapons. They are for the most part decorated with incised serpentine lines and zigzag designs (Figs. 4a, 4b). [581]

411 482 The quiver, in which there are always a few poisoned arrow-points wrapped in palm leaves and several large, as well as small,

/39 cont./

301 171 This ancient Karaiben /Carib/ custom, which already caught the eye of the early discoverers as something unusual, is also familiar to the Surára and Pakidái, but is regarded by them as very ugly and thus not copied; for the women and girls among these Indians the leg cords are always loose.

301 789 832 d) Neck cords and chains of primitive material

It is not ornamentation, but magic that is connected with the neck cords and chains of primitive material.

Thus, young men sometimes wear around their necks an urucú-colored, two-strand curauá-fiber cord twisted to the right, [824] to which is fastened a small piece of the root of the tajá (Colocasia antiquorum and Xanthosoma violaceum Schott) -- hanrẽ. Love magic is involved here (see p. 242). In order to ward it off, married female members of the tribe use two kinds of neck chains. On their urucú-colored cord of curauá fibers, young women tie numerous small pieces of the root of the tajá -- hanrẽ -- and older ones small bits of the camarau (Cipó sp.) -- hiî -- (see p.243).

302 e) Hair style

Men, women, and children, after the third year of life, have the same hair style -- mabéu -- cut evenly all around the head, including the tonsure -- hemõno. Shaving the latter, [462] but also cutting the hair are duties of the women, for which they use a piece of reed split and sharpened on one side (taquara -- Guadua sp. --) (see p.119). At festivals, on the occasion of magical acts, and during war expeditions the tonsure is painted with urucú.

[578] According to statements by my informants, it primarily represents a marking which, for the stick duels that the men occasionally carry out, distinguishes the safest and most resistant part of the head (205). This also explains the scars which one

205. Becher, 1959, p. 165.

302 593 sees on the tonsures of almost all the men. They are also present, however, in the case of female members of the tribe, for if a

/113 cont./

7. Types of Sports

526

[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526 171 821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uítoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamű, the fight

Surára
Pakidái

/116 cont./

593 he soon loses all desire for further mistreatment. The other members of the tribe watch such a spectacle with interest. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the women are very energetic and can scold with persistence. If a woman is angry with her husband, perhaps because he was unfaithful or did not go hunting, she will often scold loudly to herself for hours, so that all the other occupants of the maloka hear every word. [572] Meanwhile, however, the man being scolded remains lying in hammock in stoic calm, for a scolding woman may never be •578 interrupted. But between women, too, there are sometimes regular cannonades of vituperation carried on with the greatest vocal display. I always had the impression that at any moment they would come to blows. Sometimes this actually happens. Then they pull one another by the hair and strike each other in the face and on the rest of the body with the hands. /117/ In this case, other women do not interfere, nor do the men. Everybody watches calmly and waits until the scuffle is over.

855 Children are treated with special love and tenderness. In most cases, they show their gratitude to their parents by bestow-
888 ing upon them everlasting affection. I never saw old people neglected (559). If they became so weak and ill that they were

[171]

559. Baldus also reports of the Tapirapé that the old people are very well treated there (Baldus, 1956, p. 603), whereas later Giacone paints a very gloomy picture in this respect about the Tukano: "Entre os índios dêsses rios, a condição dos velhos é das mais penosas .... Poderíamos dizer, sem medo de errar, que o velho ou a velha, quando não pode mais trabalhar para a família, é considerado como bananeira que já deu cacho, e ninguem terá compaixão deles... /Among the Indians of these rivers the situation of the old people is most painful .... We might say, without fear of error, that the old man or old woman, when

/478 cont./

628 728 been killed, might require a greater number of years to be reconciled. Disputes which have reached the proportions of regional wars are rarely forgotten within the same generation, since there is hardly any neutral settlement left by means of which peace negotiations can be made.

The Family

591 606 A newly married couple may live in the settlement of the wife's parents or in that of the husband's parents. But if they decide to live in the settlement of the wife's parents, they cannot live in the same dwelling with them, because it is prohibited (taboo) for the husband to approach his mother-in-law. He can enter her house only when she is outside. He would not dare to come any closer to her than three or four meters. If the couple decides to live with the husband's parents, there are no such restrictions, since there is no prohibition against the daughter-in-law approaching her mother-in-law. Even suitors customarily lodge on the side opposite that of the house of their future mother-in-law, in their town.

595 The majority of the men have but one wife. Those who wish to, and are able to, may have two or more wives. This practice [578] makes more acute the shortage of marriageable women and may be one of the principal causes of the fights over wives which are started by men who have remained without any.

When a man has more than one wife, his wives may live in the same house or in several houses in a row. They work together, but each one has her own property. Frequently they are sisters since a man is more likely to marry the sister of his wife than to find another wife elsewhere.

593 Within the family it is the man who exercises authority. I only know of one case where the woman gives orders in the house, and this because her husband is mentally deficient.

/479/

736 Orphans in general are cared for by relatives, but when they do not have any, they are normally adopted. I have never known of any who was left in helplessness.

The Community

621 [62] The population of a seat or settlement varies between 60 and perhaps 120, but most of the settlements have around 100 inhabitants. Smaller groups are afraid to live apart, and therefore they join together to protect themselves. Larger groups [578] soon split up, owing to internal frictions.

[622] Within the settlement there is generally one or two more influential individuals, who not only direct their own families, but several others. When these groups grow sufficiently, they split up and form their own settlements. These groups are found united in a single settlement out of fear.

621 622 578 The largest and most influential group gives orders in the settlement. The result of this is that any struggle for command will not necessarily be a test of strength between two men, but may easily turn into a struggle between the partisans of each of them. The maximum gravity reached by these contests is generally the "macana fight."

626 Public opinion is a powerful force, and even the men of greater influence have to yield on many occasions to the will of the public.

103 Each settlement usually has two names, the one of the present locality and the name of one of the localities previously occupied.

Sickness and Magic

752 753 Some accidents are attributed to carelessness, but many accidents and all sicknesses are attributed to supernatural causes or spirits.

722 /152 cont. /One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them
near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the
enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
[721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one
of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy
of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from
Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All
of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy
and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after
this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti
shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard
that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but
none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro"
/weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and
night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of
Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until
those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the
Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they
separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a
point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and
both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of
a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One
family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and fre-
quent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back
with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-
pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was
seriously wounded, but recovered.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous 162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males ● 578 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the 684 negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought 838 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We 201 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of ges- 123 tures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of 411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is complicated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter-village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 *578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yanomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a [241] village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Gen- *621 *628 722 583 582 918 [602] erally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 439 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yanomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yanomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independant village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Ynomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

escalate, the factions involved usually use the interlude between a club-fight and actual killings to establish separate gardens.

Occasionally, however, a village suddenly becomes embroiled in a war that it has not expected, or fighting within the village immediately involves shooting to kill. Then the only recourse for the group is to take refuge with an ally and subsist on the produce of the ally's garden. If the critical situation develops out of an intra-village dispute, the smaller of the contesting factions is forced to flee to another village where it has friends or relatives.

If all the members of a village are forced to take refuge in another village, they proceed to make their own garden apart from that of their hosts; then, when the garden begins to produce, the refugee group moves to that site to live. They do this because the price of protection is always measurable in terms of the hosts' demanding access to the women of the guests, either as spouses for their own men or simply as temporary sexual partners.

Twice during the lifetime of my oldest Bisaasi-tedi informants their group was obliged to flee to an allied village to escape the raids of powerful neighbors, raids that resulted from the development of intensive hostilities before the group could establish a new garden of its own elsewhere. On both occasions the refugees lost a number of women to their protectors, and in neither case did they receive wives in return. Indeed, on the second occasion, the hosts planned

124 until I devised techniques to overcome this informant re-
[128] action. I had ultimately to resort to using informants from
124 other villages to get much of the information, particularly
551 names, about the people with whom I spent most of my time, or,
969 578 to employ informants who had grudges against individuals within the village; the greatest insult a Yanomamö can give is to say the name of a person's dead ancestor, and I capitalised on this custom at every opportunity.

124 Once I obtained accurate names,[1] the task became
551 easier and I was able to use local informants once again,
969 although rarely would they mention names of their dead relatives. Toward the end of my field work I managed to gain the confidence of several older individuals who verified and expanded on information I had collected by more devious means; even so, they themselves would not mention the names of many of the individuals in the genealogies, and I was constrained by my bargain with these informants not to mention the names
124 of any of their closely related dead kinsmen. By utilizing
128 several informants who were not closely related I managed to verify and correct the genealogies of the people with whom I lived, and I am reasonably sure that the information is accurate as far as it goes, although there are probably

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[128] [1] I was satisfied that the name was accurate when I obtained the same name from several of my most trusted informants. The best proof, however, was the reaction of an informant who was related to the deceased. If this informant became angry or upset when I whispered the name in his presence while checking a genealogy, I was reasonably sure that I had the right name.

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the [701] entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable [529] task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [439] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food [578] given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [621] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [629] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 72 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 55]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
863 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[41] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

835 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the termi-
601 nology changed because of incestuous relationships between my
183 informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because
601 of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that IshiweiwÄ
183 of PatanowÄ-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he
582 could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar
[162] situation occurred in BisaasiÄtedi. RoromawÄ, one of the
[568] important men in the lower group of BisaasiÄtedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, BÄkÄbÖwÄ, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of BÄkÄbÖwÄ's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

237 The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs
*621 within the village. These affairs are the major cause of
• 578 feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by
[721] my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

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[1]See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

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raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

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Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

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[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at BisaasÃ-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time in-
114 volved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

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[241] [361] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

illustrate how village shifts are related to warfare, and how foresight in establishing new gardens serves to facilitate village movement in anticipation of wars. The Monou-tedi planned to raid the Patanowẽ-tedi after the latter had recovered five of the seven women abducted by the Monou-tedi in November 1964. The Monou-tedi, of course, expected to be raided in turn by the Patanowẽ-tedi, so they began making a new garden in a direction away from their enemies, anticipating the revenge raids they knew would follow. In short, the Monou-tedi prepared for the war by initiating work on a new garden in a more defensible area--closer to their allies and across a large river--an action they hoped would permit them to remain completely independent of the largesse of their allies.

The graded violence pattern[1] of the Yąnomamö may be viewed from the standpoint that such a pattern facilitates the establishment of new gardens while villages split. Thus, grievances may be temporarily settled by club-fighting, and the estranged factions may utilize the interval between club fighting and more violent hostilities to establish new gardens. This is also consistent with the political philosophy of the Yąnomamö: chest pounding duels and club fights function to permit the aggrieved to demonstrate their ferocity in acts of violence, while the existence of several levels of

[1] The forms of fighting, in increasing degree of violence, are: side-slapping duels, chest-pounding duels, slapping of either the side or the chest with the flat side of a machete, club-fighting duels, spear-fighting duels, raiding with the tactic of ambush, and treacherous feasts. I have discussed this pattern elsewhere. Chagnon, 1967.

578 violence simultaneously permits the expression of hostility
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241 in such a way that the groups can split from each other on
182 relatively peaceful terms. The particular form of violence
152 employed in settling grievances is determined by a number of considerations, one of which is the likelihood that the resulting factions will be victimized by the raids of a powerful
578 enemy. Thus, in the splitting of villages, the gradations in
+621
+628 forms of violence permit of settlement patterns suited to
241 given military situations. Villages torn by internal con-
361
722 flicts may find it easier to split into two relatively peaceful
182 factions and remain geographically close to each other. In
152 this way, they can reunite into a single unit should either be attacked. Conversely, the violence pattern may also facilitate the separation of a large village into hostile groups that have no intention of reuniting: it permits suitable means for the temporary solution of a feud that will be carried to further ends after the two groups have separate gardens. The separation of the Monou-tedi from the Bisaasi-tedi is an example of the former, and the separation, at an earlier date, of both of these groups from the Patanowä-tedi is an example of the latter. Thus, while the bellicose behavior and values constrain co-residential groups to respond violently to affronts perpetrated on them by their co-villagers, their agricultural requirements can be accomodated by a graded system of violence that permits temporary solutions, albeit violent, while new gardens are cleared by the principals in a feud.

sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem is resolved---clandestine affairs within villages and raiding to abduct women between villages---create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yanomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

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*628 Koima, a girl of
613 some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawë, a young man from
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583 Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawë had
606 already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawë wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawë began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawë was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter,
584 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however,
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591 refused to go to Rerebawë, suspecting that he would not keep
• 578 his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead,
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613 Bëkotawë, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with
*624 Bëkotawë, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated
627 Rerebawë, who challenged Bëkotawë to a club fight. Bëkotawë belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's
[626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bëkotawë's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bëkotawë's supporters had no claims. Rerebawë's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bëkotawë was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this analysis. In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 +621 = 578 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

607 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates. 606 601 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

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[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 581 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 837 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting 593 between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a [165] machete. Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [593] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [797] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
• 578 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between
[607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 *621 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

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[1] See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

*628 726 602 609 622 latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. *624 • 578 593 Hunobawë, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawë, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawë discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawë with a club. Dikawë got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

*628 602 578 613 583 Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowë-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

602 578 Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers, but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally end up in different villages when a larger village splits, particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

Club fights within villages frequently pit close agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates, however, occasionally do fight against each other with the intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

000 never took place.

*621 *628 152 152 One of the functions served by the levels of violence in Yąnomamö fighting is that the Yąnomamö are able to exhibit their ferocity in relatively benign forms and thereby live up to their claims of fierceness. But, since any form of violence can escalate to a more serious form of fighting, the system of violence itself constitutes a strain on the solidarity of relationships between and within villages.

*628 527 574 • 578 152 156 One peculair feature of this syndrome of fierceness is that smaller villages tend to be the most aggressive in their dealings with outsiders and with allies. The reason seems to be that smaller villages are more compelled to display their tenacity, as they are more obviously the weaker members in alliances. The expression of violence by members of allied villages, ironically enough, takes place during feasts. Thus, grievances that may have developed between members of allied villages since they last feasted together are satisfied during the course of the next feast. Thus, during the situations most likely to promote solidarity, allies frequently display their capacity to fight, informing their allies that they are sovereign, friendly, but fierce. The form of violence associated with feasting is usually chest pounding, but if someone is injured, the duel may escalate to side-slapping with the flat side of a machete. It smacks of the ridiculous to witness groups of men beating each other violently in such duels, and shortly thereafter embrace each other around the neck and chant, each man

10cChagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yanomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

*623 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou- *623 tedi split from the group to found their own village. In • 678 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be [622]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yanomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

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[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowä-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowä-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowä-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

*621 aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-
722 *628 tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their
*621 722 enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved
361 *628 to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

*621 .578 562 602 583 Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

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[Namowei-tedi Group]

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Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawä-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokǫoiwä-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowä- and Husirawä-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowä	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowä-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawä	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawä abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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[Paruritawä-tedi Group]
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Table 6: History of Paruritawä-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowä-, Konabuma and Mokayäaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakobŏwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewä-, Matakuwä-, and previous enemies, Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakobŏwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewä's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowä's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwä's faction left to aid Karehewä and to avoid raids from Shihowä-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowä's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Borabŏwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewä	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawä	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwä's village (Mŏwäraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mŏmaribŏwei Reyabobŏwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

[Namowei-tedi Group]

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Nekurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowë-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowë-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowë-tëka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowë-tëka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararaböwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreiböwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasaböwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

174 175 361 241 *621 to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

174 175 *628 *621 361 The Kreiböwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreiböwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreiböwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreiböwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähkö

174 36 722 *62 [124] Matakuwä's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawä's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähkö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwäraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawä-tedi, Kohoroshi-te[illegible] Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

174 175 361 *62 *978 *628 72 726 A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawä-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähkö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Yeisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwä's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukumöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

174 175 *621 *628 361

[103] [1]There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

others. Matakuwë's group was being raided by Kayabawë's followers and by the splinter group that separated from Aramamisi-këkö. These raids forced Matakuwë and his followers to abandon Aramamisi-këkö and settle at Shirakoböwei. This move took place about 1900, perhaps a few years later.

Area 2: Shirakoböwei

Matakuwë's followers established several sites in this area, as they were harried by the raids from Kayabawë's followers. An internal village feud developed between the factions led respectively by Karehewë and Orakawë. During the fighting a young man from Karehewë's group was killed with a spear, and Karehewë moved to the Mavaca basin. Karehewë's followers raided the group at Shirakoböwei, and the latter reciprocated, forcing Karehewë to move further north. Karehewë's son, Riakowë, became headman of this village and played host to the 1950 treacherous feast in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost a large number of men. This village is presently called Iwahikoroba-tedi, and is led by Riakowë's son, Börösöwë. In 1965 rumors reached the Bisaasi-tedi that Iwahikoroba-tedi had split into two factions, both moving down the Mavaca River. In September 1965 I attempted unsuccessfully to make the first contact with this group, but my guides forced me to turn back when we began seeing signs (bridges and trails) made by Börösöwë's group. They feared Börösöwë would kill us.

Another faction, led by Waiyahowë, split off from

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma. [Paruritawä-tedi Group]

174 Matakuwä's group had three factions. Oroshowä, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwä's faction, took a woman away from
*621
• 578 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
361 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village
of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwä's vil-
175
*629 lage to avenge the death of Biawawä, the man killed in the
722 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
174 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
175
*621 group to found their own villages: Warabawä-tedi, led by
361 Hewariwä, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwä. These last two
[622]
[777] villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
361 sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
[574] lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
*[628] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
[722] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl
presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwä and his group moved to Kayurewä
36 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
722

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*[628] [1]Warabawä-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabäyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewä

174 175 +628 726 361 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwä's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwä, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowä-täka. Ruwahiwä was Matakuwä's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwä's group at Kayurewä, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwä moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 [622] [101] About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwä's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwä's son, Sibarariwä. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawä-tedi, led by [578] [721] Weiamamowä. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

174 36 +628 722 175 Sibarariwä's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawä-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawä-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwä's group to abandon Konabuma

+628 the Patanowä-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force
721 led them to declare war on the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi
722 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across
241 the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland,
726 anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowä-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 Another important event took place while the Monou-
58 tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an
582 event that illustrates the same principle of political philo-
593 sophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young
+628 man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowä-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

+628 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position.
721 They were planning to raid the Patanowä-tedi and would have
+ 578 to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowä-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

*628 721 578 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the PatanowÃ-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [522] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 728 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even KpobÃwÃ, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the PatanowÃ-tedi, but this even temporarily changed his mind. KpobÃwÃ ultimately led the revenge 726 raid against the PatanowÃ-tedi.

[564] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

visitors were enraged because Paruriwë failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowë-tedi.[1] Paruriwë placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowë-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowë-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwë's group. Paruriwë himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowë-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobëwë did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowë-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowë-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowë-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowë-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwë and his followers have moved away from Kaobëwë's group, the Patanowë-tedi can raid Paruriwë without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwë's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowë-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobëwë's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwë will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowë-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasabëwë-tedi, Kashorawë-tedi, Yabitawë-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowë-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowë-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasabëwë-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowë-tedi a month before I left the field.

Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharpened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village. They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kaabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

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[128] Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, [722] merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from [134] other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the [412] Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca [177] River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

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721 The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *608 579 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *608 608 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

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[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

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[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

000 11. Didihoma. See #28, Manaseinawë, below.

159 12. Dimörama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari
583 village (Kohoroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper
587 Cauabury River) by the Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mömariböwei-
▶621 tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after
● 578 being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed
arrow, wounding her gravely (see Shiborowë, below). The
man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge
in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village
planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his
159 wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mömariböwei-
123 tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation.
721 They were going to Mömariböwei-tedi to take Dimörama away
from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me
to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun,
presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in
their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we
arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and
the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were
one of the only allies of the Mömariböwei-tedi, they gave
up the girl without much argument, since she would have
[199] died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl
to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in
January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is
presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

159 21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the
583 Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was
587 taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower
*628 Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kɔobauwë, one of the village
721 bachelors.

000 23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

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181 ingness to use violence to obtain one's ends are considered desirable traits. Much of the behavior of the Yąnomamö can be described as brutal, cruel, treacherous, in the value-
[114] laden terms of our own vocabulary. The Yąnomamö themselves, however, as Napoleon Chagnon came to intimately know them in the year and a half he lived with them, do not all appear to be mean and treacherous. As individuals, they seem to be people playing their own cultural game, with internal feelings that at times may be quite divergent from
[121] the demands placed upon them by their culture. This case study furnishes valuable data for phrasing questions about the relationship between the individual and his culture.

[216] The Yąnomamö appear to be constantly on the verge of extranormal behavior, as we define it, and their almost daily use of hallucinogenic drugs reinforces these drives to what might seem to the outside observer to be the limits of human capacity. Life in their villages is noisy, punctuated by outbursts of violence, threatened by destruction by enemies. To the ethnographer it is frightening, frustrating, disgusting, exciting, and rewarding, and in this case study the ethnographer lets the reader know how he feels. His honest reactions help us, as interested outsiders, to know the Yąnomamö.

12.1 This is a study of a fierce people who engage in chronic warfare. It is also a study
926 of a system of controls that usually hold in check the drive toward annihilation. Conflict among the Yąnomamö is regulated through a series of graded escalations, from chest-pounding and side-slapping duels, through club fighting, spear throwing, to raiding in a state of war, to the ultimate—the *nomoboni*—massacre by treachery. The processes of avoidance, settlement, or escalation of disputes are discussed in detail in this case study. There are implications that range beyond the Yąnomamö, and beyond primitive peoples, to the "civilized" world in which we live, for we too live in a state of chronic warfare and are threatened by annihilation.

121 The Yąnomamö goad each other, within their own villages, to the brink of an
• 578 explosion (and they goaded the ethnographer in the same way). This hostility is
[123] projected on a larger scale in the negotiating of alliances between villages. Each principal must establish the credibility of his own threats, as well as discover the point at which the opposite party's bluffing will dissolve into action. It is, as the author says, a politics of brinksmanship, all too familiar to us.

128 The study is, however, not confined to a description of regulated violence. Dr. Chagnon provides us with an unusually clear chapter on social organization, with the genealogical details of kinship. The models he produces in his analysis are cast in sharper relief because he also discusses deviations from these models in actual behavior. He links social organization with the processes of fission that produce new villages and the alliances that are created in response to the threat of annihilation, reinforced and validated by the mutual ceding of women between villages. Social organization is presented not as an abstraction but as a dynamic process interrelated with other significant dimensions of life. The anthropological novice will find the analysis of social organization detailed but, with close attention, entirely understandable. The more experienced anthropological reader will grasp the full theoretical implications of the analysis and will find the author's references to various debates in the anthropological literature stimulating.

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Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

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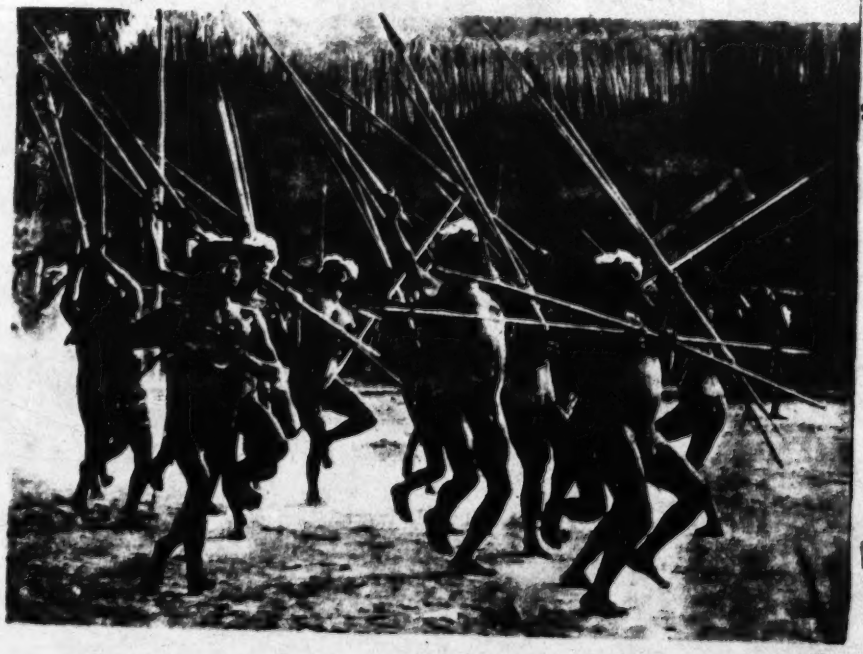
The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnamamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1–2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.



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They enjoyed watching me learn these names. I assumed, wrongly, that I would get the truth to each question and that I would get the best information by working in public. This set the stage for converting a serious project into a farce. Each informant tried to outdo his peers by inventing a name even more ridiculous than what I had been given earlier, or by asserting that the individual about whom I inquired was married to his mother or daughter, and the like. I would have the informant whisper the name of the individual in my ear, noting that he was the father of such and such a child. Everybody would then insist that I repeat the name aloud, roaring in hysterics as I clumsily pronounced the name. I assumed that the laughter was in response to the violation of the name taboo or to my pronunciation. This was a reasonable interpretation, since the individual whose name I said aloud invariably became angry. After I learned what some of the names meant, I began to understand what the laughter was all about. A few of the more colorful examples are: "hairy vagina," "long penis," "feces of the harpy eagle," and "dirty rectum." No wonder the victims were angry.

I was forced to do my genealogy work in private because of the horseplay and nonsense. Once I did so, my informants began to agree with each other and I managed to learn a few new names, real names. I could then test any new informant by collecting a genealogy from him that I knew to be accurate. I was able to weed out the more mischievous informants this way. Little by little I extended the genealogies and learned the real names. Still, I was unable to get the names of the dead and extend the genealogies back in time, and even my best informants continued to deceive me about their own close relatives. Most of them gave me the name of a living man as the father of some individual in order to avoid mentioning that the actual father was dead.

The quality of a genealogy depends in part on the number of generations it embraces, and the name taboo prevented me from getting any substantial information about deceased ancestors. Without this information, I could not detect marriage patterns through time. I had to rely on older informants for this information, but these were the most reluctant of all. As I became more proficient in the language and more skilled at detecting lies, my informants became better at lying. One of them in particular was so cunning and persuasive that I was shocked to discover that he had been inventing his information. He specialized in making a ceremony out of telling me false names. He would look around to make sure nobody was listening outside my hut, enjoin me to never mention the name again, act very nervous and spooky, and then grab me by the head to whisper the name very softly into my ear. I was always elated after an informant session with him, because I had several generations of dead ancestors for the living people. The others refused to give me this information. To show my gratitude, I paid him quadruple the rate I had given the others. When word got around that I had increased the pay, volunteers began pouring in to give me genealogies.

I discovered that the old man was lying quite by accident. A club fight broke out in the village one day, the result of a dispute over the possession of a woman. She had been promised to Rerebawä, a particularly aggressive young man who had married into the village. Rerebawä had already been given her older sister and was enraged when the younger girl began having an affair with another man in the village, making no attempt to conceal it from him. He challenged the young man to a club fight, but was so abusive in his challenge that the opponent's father took offense and entered the village circle with his son, wielding a long club. Rerebawä swaggered out to the duel and

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114 hurled insults at both of them, trying to goad them into striking him on the head with
123 their clubs. This would have given him the opportunity to strike them on the head. His
124 opponents refused to hit him, and the fight ended. Rerebawä had won a moral victory
598 because his opponents were afraid to hit him. Thereafter, he swaggered around and in-
839 sulted the two men behind their backs. He was genuinely angry with them, to the point of calling the older man by the name of his dead father. I quickly seized on this as an opportunity to collect an accurate genealogy and pumped him about his adversary's ancestors. Rerebawä had been particularly nasty to me up to this point, but we became staunch allies: We were both outsiders in the local village. I then asked about other dead ancestors and got immediate replies. He was angry with the whole group and not afraid to tell me the names of the dead. When I compared his version of the genealogies to that of the old man, it was obvious that one of them was lying. I challenged his information, and he explained that everybody knew that the old man was deceiving me and bragging about it in the village. The names the old man had given me were the dead ancestors of the members of a village so far away that he thought I would never have occasion to inquire about them. As it turned out, Rerebawä knew most of the people in that village and recognized the names.

114 I then went over the complete genealogical records with Rerebawä, genealogies I
124 had presumed to be in final form. I had to revise them all because of the numerous lies and falsifications they contained. Thus, after five months of almost constant work on the genealogies of just one group, I had to begin almost from scratch!

114 Discouraging as it was to start over, it was still the first real turning point in my
123 fieldwork. Thereafter, I began taking advantage of local arguments and animosities in
124 selecting my informants, and used more extensively individuals who had married into the group. I began traveling to other villages to check the genealogies, picking villages that were on strained terms with the people about whom I wanted information. I would then return to my base camp and check with local informants the accuracy of the new information. If the informants became angry when I mentioned the new names I acquired from the unfriendly group, I was almost certain that the information was accurate. For this kind of checking I had to use informants whose genealogies I knew rather well: they had to be distantly enough related to the dead person that they would not go into a rage when I mentioned the name, but not so remotely related that they would be uncertain of the accuracy of the information. Thus, I had to make a list of names that I dared not use in the presence of each and every informant. Despite the precautions, I occasionally hit a name that put the informant into a rage, such as that of a dead brother or sister that other informants had not reported. This always terminated the day's work with that informant, for he would be too touchy to continue any further, and I would be reluctant to take a chance on accidentally discovering another dead kinsman so soon after the first.

114 These were always unpleasant experiences, and occasionally dangerous ones, de-
123 pending on the temperament of the informant. On one occasion I was planning to visit
124 a village that had been raided about a week earlier. A woman whose name I had on my
551 list had been killed by the raiders. I planned to check each individual on the list one by one to estimate ages, and I wanted to remove her name so that I would not say it aloud in the village. I knew that I would be in considerable difficulty if I said this name aloud so soon after her death. I called on my original informant and asked him to tell

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115 for being fierce long ago, and other men respect him. He also has five mature brothers
[622] who support him, and he has given a number of his sisters to other men in the village,
[156] thereby putting them under some obligation to him. In short, his "natural" following (kinsmen) is large, and he does not have to constantly display his ferocity. People already respect him and take his suggestions seriously.

Rerebawä is much younger, only about twenty-two years old (See Fig. 1-5). He has just one wife by whom he has had three children. He is from Karohi-teri, one of the
[582] villages to which Kaobawä's is allied. Rerebawä left his village to seek a wife in Kaobawä's group because there were no eligible women there for him to marry.

[156] Rerebawä is perhaps more typical than Kaobawä in the sense that he is concerned about his reputation for ferocity and goes out of his way to act tough. He is, however, much braver than the other men his age and backs up his threats with action. Moreover, he is concerned about politics and knows the details of intervillage relation-
[622] ships over a large area. In this respect he shows all the attributes of a headman, although he is still too young and has too many competent older brothers in his own village to expect to move easily into the position of leadership there.

[583] He does not intend to stay in Kaobawä's group and has not made a garden. He
[591] feels that he has adequately discharged his obligations to his wife's parents by providing them with fresh game for three years. They should let him take the wife and return to his own village with her, but they refuse and try to entice him to remain permanently in Bisaasi-teri to provide them with game when they are old. They have even promised to give him their second daughter if he will stay permanently.

Although he has displayed his ferocity in many ways, one incident in particular shows what his character is like. Before he left his own village to seek a wife, he had an
[837] affair with the wife of an older brother. When he was discovered, his brother attacked
[593] him with a club. Rerebawä was infuriated so he grabbed an axe and drove his brother
[578] out of the village after soundly beating him with the flat of the blade. The brother was so afraid that he did not return to the village for several days. I recently visited his village with him. He made a point to introduce me to this brother. Rerebawä dragged him out of his hammock by the arm and told me, "This is the brother whose wife I had an affair with," a deadly insult. His brother did nothing and slunk back into his hammock, shamed, but relieved to have Rerebawä release the vise-grip on his arm.

[829] Despite the fact that he admires Kaobawä, he has a low opinion of the others in Bisaasi-teri. He admitted confidentially that he thought Bisaasi-teri was an abominable group: "This is a terrible neighborhood! All the young men are lazy and cowards and everybody is committing incest! I'll be glad to get back home." He also admired Kaobawä's brother, the headman of Monou-teri. This man was killed by raiders while I was doing my fieldwork. Rerebawä was disgusted that the others did not chase the raiders when they discovered the shooting: "He was the only fierce one in the whole group; he was my close friend. The cowardly Monou-teri hid like women in the jungle and didn't even chase the raiders!"

[156] Even though Rerebawä is fierce and capable of being quite nasty, he has a good
[522] side as well. He has a very biting sense of humor and can entertain the group for hours on end with jokes and witty comments. And, he is one of few Yanomamö that I feel I can trust. When I returned to Bisaasi-teri after having been away for a year, Rerebawä was in his own village visiting his kinsmen. Word reached him that I had returned, and

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guishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yąnomamö. Many wild plants are also said to have magical properties.

CONCLUSION The Yąnomamö have adapted to their jungle environment with a very simple technology. Exploiting both the naturally occurring foods and domesticated crops is relatively easy with this technology, and the resources of both the jungle and the garden provide the people with the two basic necessities of life: food and shelter. Although the resources are extremely varied and numerous, the diet is largely dominated by one food item: plantains. Techniques of manufacturing are so simple and direct that each individual can produce any item he needs from the resources immediately around him. The material aspect of the culture is decidedly rudimentary by comparison with other tropical forest tribes; the Yąnomamö appear to deliberately limit their possessions to an amount that can be easily transported in case the group is obliged to abandon its site on short notice.

Adaptation to the Sociopolitical Environment

The adaptation of the Yąnomamö to their environment can be only partially expressed in terms of how they make a living in the tropical forest with specific kinds of tools, plants, and techniques, for the forest is only one aspect of the external world to which they must adjust. Their adaptation also takes place in a social and political environment. This likewise affects the way in which the Yąnomamö are distributed over the land, how their villages are moved from one location to another, and the kinds of relationships each village has with its neighbors. In short, the Yąnomamö must relate themselves to each other as well as to nature.

ALLIANCES AND VILLAGE SIZE I spoke of the considerations that must be met when a new garden site is selected. However, the area within which the new site is selected is determined almost exclusively by political factors. A Yąnomamö group would remain indefinitely in the area it settled were it not for the threat of raids from warring neighbors. To be sure, the group would move its garden little by little each year, but the general area would be abandoned only if the people were driven out by stronger groups around them. Again, dissident factions of the village might leave the area if a particularly serious fight developed within the group, but because a garden is necessary for the group to survive as a group, the Yąnomamö abandon them only when faced with disaster. To establish a new garden at a great distance from the old one, a Herculean effort is required just to transport the necessary plantain cuttings and seed, not to mention carrying provisions for eating while the work of clearing the garden and planting the crops progresses. Then, since a new garden produces sporadically for the first year, the people are frequently faced with food shortage. They are, therefore, reluctant to sacrifice the predictability of subsistence at the established garden for insecurity, periods of hunger, and hard work at some distant location.

Instead, they develop political alliances with neighboring villages, thereby adjusting to their social environment. The nature of these alliances is discussed in detail in Chapter 4, but at this point I will make some general statements about the relationships between villages to show why, on the one hand, the social environment calls forth the alliances, and why on the other hand, when alliances fail, a group must abandon its area.

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*621 *628 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who 701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 722 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity 721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being .726 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [578] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

[628] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to 582 maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep 166 all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly 578 difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger 837 villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

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so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2–8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kąobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yąnomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2–8 the movements of Kąobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kąobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hąhoyaoba. Kąobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yąnomamö villages located in that general area.

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
• 578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shjhota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
*628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
*62 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up-
[101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
*621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya-
[134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by
[648] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[722] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
[578] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44.1]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

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him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

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Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromawä, respectively, come from the *Shs* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Shs* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Shs* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Shs* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Shs* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Shs* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawã, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yanomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kaobawã's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kaobawã's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowã-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowã-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowã-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowã-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwã, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowã-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowã-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

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fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously, and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monoxo-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumamawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumamawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

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On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawï the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawï's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwï, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawï's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawï let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwï and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawï and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwï and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawï nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwï approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwï's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilities.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawï's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwï's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwï failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawï realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasuböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawï not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawï keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwï, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwï when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawï was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

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duplicated by an equal effort on the part of Paruriwä, an obvious attempt by the latter to show that he was also a leader. Some of the visitors arrived early and were visiting in Paruriwä's house. He commanded his wife to prepare food for them, but the woman moved a little too slowly to suit him. Paruriwä went into a rage, grabbed an axe, and swung it wildly at her. She ducked and ran screaming from the house. Paruriwä recovered his balance and threw the axe at her as she fled, but missed. By this time Kaobawä had seen the axe go whizzing over the woman's head; he raced across the village in time to take a machete from Paruriwä before he could inflict much damage with it. He did manage, however, to hit her twice before Kaobawä disarmed him, splitting her hand with one of the blows.

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On another occasion one of Kaobawä's brothers took too much drug and became violent. He staggered to the center of the village with his bow and arrows, while people ran frantically out of their houses to avoid being shot. Kaobawä managed to disarm him and hid his weapons.

During the several club fights that took place while I was in the field, Kaobawä stood by with his bow and arrows to make sure that the fighting was kept relatively innocuous (see Fig. 3-9). In one of the chest-pounding duels, he managed to keep the fight from escalating into a shooting war by making sure that everybody in his group took a turn in the fighting. (See Chapter 4 for a description of the fight.) On this occasion

Fig. 3-9. Kaobawä (left, holding his bow) attempts to keep a club fight over a woman from escalating to shooting. The man in front of him has just been hacked on the head and blood is streaming down his back.

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his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

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and guests that gradually died off as each group busied itself in preparation for the dance.

Shortly after noon a rumor circulated through the village that the visitors had been raiding the gardens at night and stealing plantains. A number of people, particularly older men, were visibly upset by this new information, giving rise to another rumor that there would be a chest-pounding duel to set the matter straight. The guests had already worn their welcome thin by arriving uninvited a week in advance and by eating excessively. Their hosts were becoming angry with them, as it was all too obvious that they were deliberately taxing their hosts' patience; they were intimidating them.

The men of the host group had finished their preparations for the feast; they were all painted in red and black, bearing colorful feathers. They had cleaned the debris from their houses, had finished hauling out the weeds they had picked from the village clearing, and had brought in quantities of food to give their guests. Now, it was time for them to take *ebene*, their hallucinogenic drug. They separated into several groups and began blowing the brownish-green powder up each other's nostrils with 3-foot long hollow tubes. As the drug would be administered, each recipient would reel from the concussion of air, groan, and stagger off to some convenient post to vomit. Within ten minutes of taking the drug, the men would be bleary-eyed and wild, prancing around in front of their houses, stopping occasionally to vomit or to catch their breath. In each group there would be one man particularly adept at chanting to the *bekura*, the mountain demons, and he would soon take over the show, while the others retired to the sidelines in a stupor, green slime dripping from their nostrils. Should there be sick people in the village, the adept chanters—the *shabori*—would cure them by chanting, massaging, sucking, and vomiting out the evil spirit that caused the sickness. Otherwise, they would chant about other things, perhaps sending their *bekura* to enemy villages to eat the souls of children, or enjoining them to prevent their enemies from doing the same. Occasionally, one of the men takes too much of the drug and become violent. On this particular occasion, Shiimima, one of Kąobawä's brothers, grabbed his bow and arrows and ran to the center of the village. This caused a minor sensation for a moment, but one of the men managed to catch and disarm him, hiding his weapons so he could not find them. Things returned to normal again, and the other participants in the drug-taking began chanting to Shiimima to restore him to his senses. The chanting lasted for an hour or so, and the participants, one by one, returned to their houses to clean up their paint jobs; most of them had smeared their careful work by vomiting all over themselves.

While the men were taking their drugs, the women were busy painting and decorating themselves with feathers and red pigment. The visitors, also, were busy at the same tasks, and the excitement of the feast reached fever proportions by mid-afternoon. A few women were still busy finishing trade baskets, while Kąobawä's younger brothers continued with the monotonous cooking of what seemed to them an endless number of plantains.

Finally, an old man from the visiting group entered the village and marched unceremoniously across the clearing while the members of Kąobawä's group cheered him. He was too old to join the dancing, but too respected to wait behind with the women and children while the younger men put on their display. This was evidence that the visitors were about to send in their delegate to accept the feast invitation at Kąobawä's house.

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By 8:00 A.M. the going-home food had been presented to the visitors, and the trade had been conducted. Had the visitors been polite, they would have left for home at that time. Instead, they decided to stay and witness the second, smaller, feast that Kąobawä was going to conduct for the Karohi-teri, who had not arrived in time for the major event. This capped the series of insults the visitors had heaped upon Kąobawä's group. The visitors were warned that if they should stay, the would be expected to fight in a chest-pounding duel.

It was obvious now that the visitors were looking for trouble, and Kąobawä's group was obliged to react or be subject to even further intimidation. Hence, the challenge to pound chests. At this point the visitors broke camp and departed, much to the relief and joy of Kąobawä's group. In fact, they were pleased that they had been successful in intimidating their guests into leaving, and the men gloated over this accomplishment the rest of the day. They were convinced that their threats were credible enough to force their potential adversaries to withdraw, presumably because the Mahekodo-teri felt they were inferior in strength.

Kąobawä and his group held another feast for the Karohi-teri that same day, but without the assistance of the Lower Bisaasi-teri who left shortly after the previous feast terminated.

The Chest-pounding Duel

The feast for Karohi-teri was essentially the same as the one for the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri. When the dancing was over and darkness fell, the men began to chant again. The first pair of chanters had not completed their rhythmic presentation when the jungle around the village erupted with hoots and screams, causing all of the people in the village to jump from their hammocks and arm themselves. When the men had found their arrows and were prepared, they began yelling back at the unseen guests, rattling the shafts of their arrows together or against their bows and/or pounding the heads of axes against pieces of firewood or on the ground to make noise. The Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri had returned to accept the chest-pounding challenge and entered the village, each man brandishing his axe, club, or bow and arrows. They circled the village once, feinting attack on particular men among the hosts, then grouped at the center of the village clearing. The hosts surrounded them excitedly, dancing with their weapons poised to strike, then entering into the mass of bodies. Heated arguments about food theft and gluttony developed, and the hosts and guests threateningly waved their weapons in each other's faces. Within minutes the large group had bifurcated and the chest-pounding began. The Karohi-teri aided Kąobawä and his followers, whose joint numbers were even further swelled when the Lower Bisaasi-teri rushed to the village after hearing the commotion. There were about sixty adult men on each side in the fight, divided into two arenas, each comprised of hosts and guests. Two men, one from each side, would step into the center of the milling, belligerent crowd of weapon-wielding partisans, urged on by their comrades. One would step up, spread his legs apart, bare his chest, and hold his arms behind his back, daring the other to hit him. The opponent would size him up, adjust the man's chest or arms so as to give himself the greatest advantage when he struck, and then step back to deliver his close-fisted blow. The striker would painstakingly adjust

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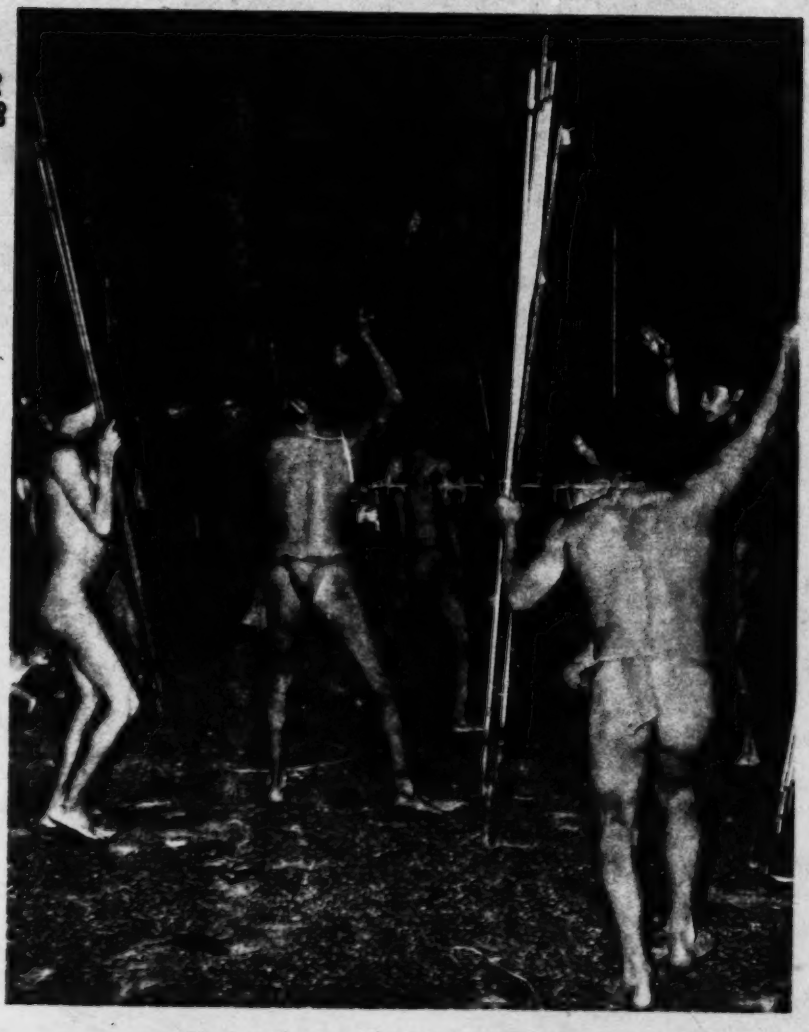

Fig. 4-3. Chest-pounding duel about to be escalated.

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his own distance from his victim by measuring his arm length to the man's chest, taking several dry runs before delivering his blow. He would then wind up like a baseball pitcher, but keeping both feet on the ground, and deliver a tremendous wallop with his fist to the man's left pectoral muscle, putting all of his weight into the blow. The victim's knees would often buckle and he would stagger around a few moments, shaking his head to clear the stars, but remain silent. The blow invariably raised a "frog" on the recipient's pectoral muscle where the striker's knuckles bit into his flesh. After each blow, the com-

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rades of the deliverer would cheer and bounce up and down from the knees, waving and clacking their weapons over their heads. The victim's supporters, meanwhile, would urge their champion on frantically, insisting that he take another blow. If the delivery were made with sufficient force to knock the recipient to the ground, the man who delivered it would throw his arms above his head, roll his eyes back, and prance victoriously in a circle around his victim, growling and screaming, his feet almost a blur from his excited dance. The recipient would stand poised and take as many as four blows before demanding to hit his adversary. He would be permitted to strike his opponent as many times as the latter struck him, provided that the opponent could take it. If not, he would be forced to retire, much to the dismay of his comrades and the delirious joy of their opponents. No fighter could retire after delivering a blow. If he attempted to do so, his adversary would plunge into the crowd and roughly haul him back out, sometimes being aided by the man's own supporters. Only after having received his just dues could he retire. If he had delivered three blows, he had to receive three or else be proven a poor fighter. He could retire with less than three only if he were injured. Then, one of his comrades would replace him and demand to hit the victorious opponent. The injured man's two remaining blows would be canceled, and the man who delivered the victorious blow would have to receive more blows than he delivered. Thus, good fighters are at a disadvantage, since they receive disproportionately more punishment than they deliver. Their only reward is status: they earn the reputation of being fierce.

Some of the younger men in Kąobawä's group were reluctant to participate in the fighting because they were afraid of being injured. This put more strain on the others, who were forced to take extra turns in order to preserve the group's reputation. At one point Kąobawä's men, sore from the punishment they had taken and worried that they would ultimately lose the fight, wanted to escalate the contest to an axe duel (see Fig. 4–3). Kąobawä was vigorously opposed to this, as he knew it would lead to bloodshed. He therefore recruited the younger men into the fighting, as well as a few of the older ones who had done nothing but demand the others to step into the arena, thereby reducing the strain on those who wanted to escalate the level of violence. A few of the younger men retired after a single blow, privately admitting to me later that they pretended to be injured to avoid being forced to fight more. The fighting continued in this fashion for nearly three hours, tempers growing hotter and hotter. Kąobawä and the headman from the other group stood by with their weapons, attempting to keep the fighting innocuous, but not participating in it. Some of the fighters went through several turns of three or four blows each, their pectoral muscles swollen and red from the number of blows each had received. The fight had still not been decided, although Kąobawä's group seemed to be getting the worst of it. They then insisted on escalating the fighting to side slapping, partly because their chests were too sore to continue in that fashion, and partly because their opponents seemed to have an edge on them.

The side slapping duel is nearly identical in form to chest pounding, except that the blow is delivered with an open hand across the flanks of the opponent, between his rib-cage and pelvis bone. It is a little more severe than chest pounding because casualties are more frequent and tempers grow hotter more rapidly when a group's champion falls to the ground, gasping for wind, and faints. The side slapping only lasted fifteen minutes or so; one of the more influential men in Kąobawä's group was knocked unconscious, enraging the others. The fighting continued for just a few minutes after this, but during

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Fig. 4–4. Many feasts end in prearranged chest-pounding duels; this permits the allies to display the fact that they are friendly but capable of defending their sovereignty. These two men were pounding each other's chests a few minutes before this photo was taken. Here, they embrace each other intimately, vowing eternal friendship, and ask each other for specific trade goods.

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these few minutes the men were rapidly changing the points of their arrows to war tips: curare and lanceolate bamboo. The women and children began to cry, knowing that the situation was getting serious, and they grouped into the farthest corners of their houses near the exits. One by one the men withdrew, returned to their houses, and drew their bows. The visitors pulled back and formed a protective circle around their own women and children, also fitting arrows into their bows and drawing them. The village grew almost silent. The leaders of the respective groups stepped into the no man's land separating the two groups of armed men and began arguing violently, waving axes and clubs at each other. Suddenly, the spokesmen from the visiting group surged toward Kaobawä and his supporters, swinging their axes and clubs wildly at them, forcing them back to the line of men whose bowstrings were drawn taut. Kaobawä and his followers regained their footing and repelled their adversaries at this point, while the women and children from both groups began fleeing from the village, screaming and wailing. It looked as if

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they were about to release their arrows point-blank at Kąobawä's attackers, but when he and his aides turned them back, the crisis was over. The leaders of the visiting group rejoined the other men, some of whom had picked up glowing brands of firewood, and they backed out of the village, weapons still drawn, their way illuminated by those who were waving the brands.[7]

Kąobawä's group took no further action in this affair and was not invited to feast at Mahekodo-teri. Later in the year, their relationships worsened because of a club fight in yet another village, and for a while both groups threatened to shoot each other on sight. A temporary rapprochement developed after the club fight, when a group of raiders from Kąobawä's group met a group of hunters from Mahekodo-teri while en route to attack the village of one of their enemies. The men from both villages traded with each other and departed on friendly terms, the raiders abandoning their raid and returning to their village lest they be later ambushed on the way home by the Mahekodo-teri. They are presently on trading terms with each other, but their relationship is still somewhat strained and potentially hostile.

In general, feasts are exciting for both the hosts and the guests and contribute to their mutual solidarity. Under normal circumstances, allies that customarily feast with each other do not fight. Nevertheless, even the best allies occasionally agree beforehand to terminate their feast with a chest-pounding duel, thereby demonstrating to each other that they are friends, but capable of maintaining their sovereignty and willing to fight if necessary (Fig. 4–4). Kąobawä's group had a chest-pounding duel with one of its staunchest allies in 1966, as each had heard that the other was spreading rumors that it was cowardly. Of the six feasts I witnessed during the nineteen months I spent with the Yąnomamö, two of them ended in fighting.

Any Yąnomamö feast can potentially end in violence because of the nature of the attitudes the participants hold regarding canons of behavior and obligations to display ferocity.

Still, the feast and its attendant trade serve to reduce the possibility of neighbors fighting with each other at a more serious level of violence, and they contribute to intervillage solidarity and mutual interdependence.

[7]At this time, I was crouched in the house behind the line of bowmen, trembling in my boots.

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

*628 THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies, *628 or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspi- 721 cion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this 754 sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *bekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

726 Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

*628 War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chag- 578 non 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding 152 duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to kill- 154 ing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

*628 The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the 578 last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

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If such a duel is escalated, it usually develops into a side-slapping contest. Occasionally, the combatants will sue for the use of machetes and axes, but this is rare. If machetes are used, the object of the contest still remains the same: Injure your opponent seriously enough so that he will withdraw from the contest, but try not to draw blood. Hence, opponents strike each other with only the flat of the blade when they resort to machetes.

In some areas the Yąnomamö modify the chest-pounding duel in another way: The opponents hold rocks in their clenched fists and strike their adversaries on the chest with an even more stunning blow. They try not to let the stone itself touch the flesh of the man they are fighting. Even without the use of stones, however, they are able to deliver their blows with such force that some of the participants cough up blood for days after having been in a duel.

Club fights represent the next level of violence. These can take place both within and between villages. Most of the club fights result from arguments over women, but a few of them develop out of disputes associated with food theft. Dikawä, a young man about twenty years old, came home one day and discovered a bunch of eating bananas his father, about fifty-five years old, had hung up in his house, above his hearth, to ripen in the smoke. Dikawä, however, ate a number of them without his father's permission. When his father discovered the theft, he ripped a pole out of his house and began clubbing Dikawä. Dikawä armed himself with a similar club and attacked his father, precipitating a general melee that soon involved most of the men in the village, each taking the side of the father or son, as they saw fit. In brawls such as these, many individuals join in the fighting just to keep the sides even; if a group is badly outnumbered, they will be joined by friends whose sense of fairness stimulates them to take sides, no matter what the issue is. The net result of the above fight was a number of lacerated skulls, bashed fingers, and sore shoulders. The contestants try to hit each other on the top of the head, but when the fight gets out of hand, the participants swing wildly and rarely hit their opponents on the skull. More frequently, the blow lands on the shoulder or arm.

The clubs used in these fights are, ideally, 8 to 10 feet long. They are very wiry, quite heavy, and deliver a tremendous wallop. In general shape and dimensions, they resemble pool cues, but are nearly twice as long. The club is held at the thin end, which is frequently sharpened to a long point in case the fighting escalates to spear thrusting, in which case the club is inverted and used as a pike.

Most duels start between two men, usually after one of them has been caught *en flagrante* trysting with the other's wife. The enraged husband challenges his opponent to strike him on the head with a club. He holds his own club vertically, leans against it and exposes his head for his opponent to strike. After he has sustained a blow on the head, he can then deliver one on the culprit's skull. But as soon as blood starts to flow, almost everybody rips a pole out of the house frame and joins in the fighting, supporting one or the other of the contestants.

Needless to say, the tops of most men's heads are covered with long, ugly scars of which their bearers are immensely proud. Some of them, in fact, keep their head cleanly shaved on top to display these scars, rubbing red pigment on their bare scalps to define them more precisely. Viewed from the top, the skull of an accomplished man of forty years looks like a road map, for it is criss-crossed by as many as twenty large scars (see

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Fig. 5-1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

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original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawë's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawë told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawë, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwë, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwë got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

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[1]The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

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him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doubt my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggressive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *waiteri* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

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If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in this, as was the case in the *wayu itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance: They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away, and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife, left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawä and his youngest brother staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawä's pains had gotten so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Sharariwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Sharariwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immediately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of